105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

## Chapter II

### The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

## Charms

789 538 825 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yũn, which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 789 538 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 291 789 538 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

285

/For information on the intricacies of Kamarakoto basketry, (e.g., plaiting and weaving methods, designs, types of products and their uses, etc.), see category 116, pp. 176-200, 324-326./

The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kaliña yene (all from de Goeje).

133. Cassava. Cassave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting cassave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

135. *Grater for cassave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated cassave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — watɛːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition. The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. ɛːapa
139. pangaiˀ
140. tangōiˀ
141. matuːtu
142. ɑ. olori
143. waricha
144. warakapi
145. amaːtu
146. akaiˀ
147. koataiˀ
148. wapa
149. ɛno-saramba
150. sokoˀ
151. kumara-katsaˀ
152. wakawaˀ
153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroiˀ, No. 104, tɨmuiˀ, No. 99, and mōi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word warɔːkmpa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

[49] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301
154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pɔrega:nsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi[9].
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupɔ-pɛ katsa[9]. i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupɔ. i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa[9].
[304]
*192 162. Tattooing — meta:men
291
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo[9]. (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
*197 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon. (u)pon.
291
177 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam) huaicu-r, 50 "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam) guayuco, 50 "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 A [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 824 ●285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mana:le (= mana:re). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri. "cassava sifter" (called pangaiʾ in Kamarakoto and pangaʾ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʾ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʾ. Compare tsimuiʾ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʾ -epichaʾ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-ka:limi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — etseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʾ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʾ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — paka:ri.

*192 283 412

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʾ. gatsaʾ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[53] [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
336 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few
● [285] centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

## Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical in-
habited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is bananas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar p[illegible] commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, [illegible] three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be described in detail. The roots, kōsẹ, are first scraped with a knife and then grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, sama:ri, is not made by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezuelan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

F33
.S52
.S45
S16
291





Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán; but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
285 open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangöi' is
filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such
beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is
then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
142 preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the
tangöi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the
bottom and is saved.

415 The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve,
pangai' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat
stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular
251 cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but
those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor.
It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it
without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
171 stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
252 This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable
varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else
that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas
or plantains, etc.

257 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
263 condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, pre-
dominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or
stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties
of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed
into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled
mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes,
pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may
be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-
kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
135 ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
139 through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the
Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is
so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
142 counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless
naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

## Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
[1] [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

323

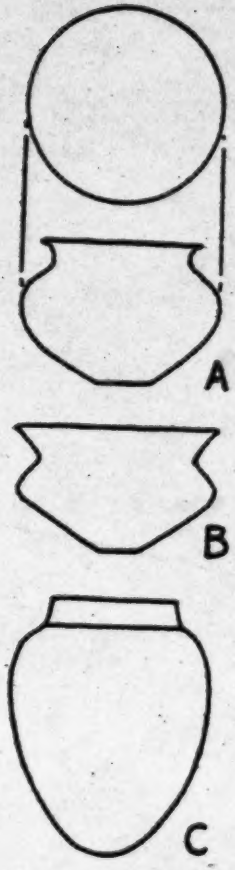


Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
412 gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoʳ, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, paka:ri, which
854 consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the
353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called paka:ri.

## Basket-ware.

● 285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangō:ʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

o:apa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matu:tu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the o:apa. Figs. 57, 58.

o.olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha ) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi ) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa ) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ )

ama:tu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiʔ ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[477] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

285 kumara-katsa) — large, flat palm-leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

## Clothing and Ornamentation

### Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 46]

29/
172
294
578
231
285
822

5Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16/Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

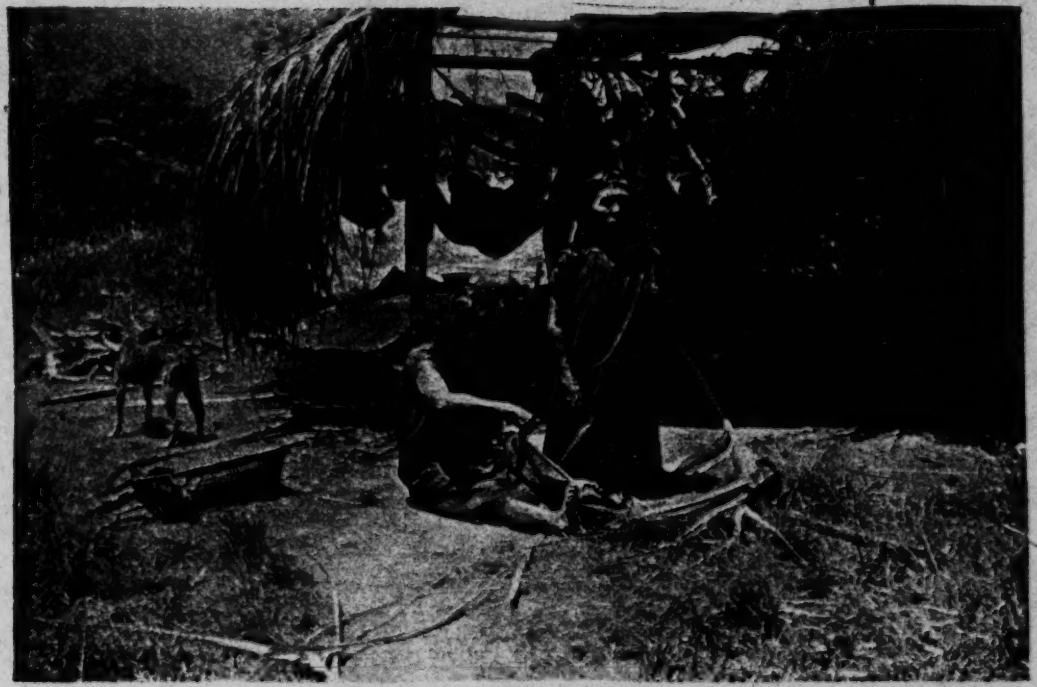

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

## Materials.

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128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).

A. Animal.

a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)

b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)

*B. Vegetable.

*a. Woolly — cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)

*b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)

C. Synthetic — necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).

A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.

*B. Vegetable.

*a. Round.

1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)

*2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)

*b. Flat.

*1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)

*2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

286 "III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai[9] of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among unwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoº, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

## Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakaïrí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [See footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

● 285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the spmetimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. [648] Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

● [285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly